- 261
  853
  155
  181
  106
  862
  863

Comanche NO6
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

3. Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6



264 the meat is taken out of the kettle by the fingers of the woman who officiates as cook, and apportioned to each one, and placed before him; bread [this was after the government had set up a reservation and was providing some provisions] is apportioned out, and cups for the coffee furnished to each. The party is some time in partaking of the meal, which is enlivened by much conversation, amusing tales, and laughter, while the meat is torn to pieces by the teeth and fingers, sometimes with the assistance of a knife. . . . After a meal water is always offered to all who have partaken to rinse the mouth and wash the hands. After this the pipe may be in order but not necessarily. If it be introduced, the women withdraw, and some important subject discussed. The pipe is always circulated from one to another, from right toward the left.[15]

261 [185] Perhaps opportunism in the life of the nomadic Comanche is best reflected in his attitude toward subsistence. Seldom were efforts put forth to make provision for the future other than preserving meat or wild fruits and nuts by drying in such quantities as could be carried when the camp moved. He ate sparingly when on a raid or a hunt. Times of hunger were frequent. He could subsist on a surprisingly small amount when game was scarce, or he could demonstrate an amazingly gluttonous appetite when food was plentiful and no danger present. Besides, the food might spoil unless quickly consumed. By practicing self-denial, he developed a quality of hardihood unequaled by other peoples who later came to his country. It was because of his surprising resourcefulness while traveling on the semiarid Staked Plains that he was able to survive where the Anglo-American invader would starve or die of thirst. And when all resources were exhausted, he could go for many hours through trying circumstances without either food or water. Indeed, his self-restraint could be quite as pronounced as his gormandizing. Clinton Smith relates that on a trip across the plains, when water was not found where expected, the most rigid discipline was enforced in the interest of the weaker members of the party. Grim warriors, with blood-shot eyes and swollen tongues, staggered on, threatening with death anyone who might attempt to

[15] Battey, *op. cit.*, 322–23.

drink the few cupfuls of water carried in buffalo paunches to supply the children.[16]

In very early times, if we take what we know of the Shoshones as the measure, the Comanches could not have taken much interest in sartorial splendor. Even in later days their work-a-day garb was simple and crude. They hardly looked like the popular conception of the painted, beaded, and befeathered Indian. For festive occasions, however, they had their fancy dress garb, and young men, especially, liked to think of themselves as dandies. A *tuiβItsi* was much to be admired, and if asked what a *tuiβItsi* is, any Comanche will answer, "A handsome young man with shiny black hair, all dressed up on a good-looking horse." The *tuiβItsi* had his counterpart in the *naiβi:* a good-looking girl with long braids, painted and all dressed up in a good buckskin dress. When there were dances or when the band was moving from one camp site to another, the *naiβi* and *tuiβItsi* liked to parade and show off to the admiring glances of the people—and each other. Adult Comanches also liked to dress up, but they were not so self-conscious about it.

Boys, until they reached the age or eight or nine, went entirely nude unless the weather was severe. Regular attire generally consisted of breechclout, leggings, and moccasins only. The former was a broad piece of cloth or buckskin drawn up between the legs and passed under the belt both behind and before. The ends, one in front and one behind, formed loose, hanging flaps which extended almost to the knees. The length of the breechclout depended, of course, upon the size and height of the individual, but would probably average six feet for an adult male. Since blue was the favored color for formal or dress-up occasions, some early observers believed it to be the predominant color.[17]

A vestige of the breechclout is still worn by conservative Comanches in the form of a gee-string beneath their Levis. It is nothing more than a braided cord passed between the legs and wrapped about the waist. It cannot be seen, is not decorative, but is magically protective of the male's sex organs.

[16] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 60.

[17] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 184; David G. Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6



824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6



thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɔn*, were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɔ'ntnə* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɔ'ngabɔk*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various beverages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

Comanche Texts

eeyu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ ukuku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ huba?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$. 10. sur^se?$_1$ nʌ$_2$ bia?$_3$ kʌ?rahúu?a$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ boma?eku$_6$, u$_7$ rayu?ne?eeyu$_8$. 11. wihnu$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, u$_5$ yuhuma?aihku$_6$ nʌmi$_7$ ku?tsiyaakʌ?eeyu$_8$. 12. sur^se?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ kwasʌkʌ?eku$_4$, tsaa$_5$ wihkámanu$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tsaa$_8$ pihnákamanu$_9$. 13. sur^se?$_1$ pʌewatsi?kʌke$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ tsahani?eku$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ kusíwʌhpimakʌ?eeyu$_6$. 14. nʌn^se?$_1$ onama?ai$_2$ tʌhkapʌma?aihku$_3$ u$_4$ rʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 15. sur^se?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ kamanu$_3$. 16. nʌn^se?$_1$ tuhpokóo?huuhpihta$_2$ po?ai$_3$ wʌsibo?a?et^$_4$, u$_5$ sanahkena$_6$ sibe?et^$_7$, u$_8$ hima?et^$_9$, hunu?betu$_{10}$ mia?eeyu$_{11}$. 17. nʌn^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ sibepʌha$_5$ kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_6$. 18. u$_1$ kʌyu?ne?et^$_2$, paakʌ$_3$ wihnu$_4$ u$_5$ kotsémia?eeyu$_6$. 19. suni-se?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, tutʌtsaiwai$_5$ u$_6$ naha?eku$_7$, u$_8$ sanahkóo?kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_9$. 20. sur^se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaa$_3$ sanahkóo?$_4$ kamanu$_5$. 21. usʌse?$_1$ bʌrihku$_2$ nʌmʌ$_3$ sanahkóo?-ai?ena$_4$. 22. subet^$_1$.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

fry bread for$_3$ us$_2$, also$_4$ in it$_5$ [the fire hole] (she) makes coffee for$_7$ us$_6$. 10. /That$_1$/ my$_2$ mother$_3$, when$_4$ we$_5$ pick$_6$ hackberries$_4$, (she) pounds$_8$ it$_7$ [them]. 11. Then$_1$ (she) does to$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, with$_6$ /that$_5$/ fat$_6$ (she) roasts (it) on a stick for$_8$ us$_7$. 12. When$_4$ she$_3$ cooks for$_4$ us$_2$, that$_1$ tastes$_4$ good$_5$ (and) oily$_6$, also$_7$ tastes$_9$ good$_8$ (and) sweet$_9$. 13. When$_4$ we$_3$ pull up$_4$ wild onions$_2$, that one$_1$ cooks (it) in ashes for$_6$ us$_5$. 14. We$_1$ eat$_5$ it$_4$ with salt$_2$ (and) with meat$_3$. 15. That$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$. 16. We$_1$ strip off$_4$ bark of$_3$ (a) tree$_2$ (bearing black berries), shave off$_7$ its$_8$ sap$_6$, take$_9$ it$_8$, (and) go$_{11}$ on to the creek$_{10}$. 17. We$_1$ then$_2$ chew$_6$ /that$_3$/ our$_4$ shavings$_5$. 18. Chew$_2$ it$_1$, then$_4$ wash$_5$ it$_5$ in water$_3$. 19. We$_2$ do$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_1$, (and) when$_7$ it$_6$ becomes$_7$ clean$_5$, (we) chew$_9$ it$_8$ as chewing gum$_9$. 20. That$_1$ chewing gum$_4$ tasted$_5$ really$_2$ good$_3$. 21. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ (we) make$_4$ our$_3$ chewing gum$_4$. 22. That is all$_1$.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6



each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1877 and 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1878, 273, and 1878, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6



to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., ms. II, 88, 18.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche .06
Texas



[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household economy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they manifest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accustomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas



175 [ca. 1818]
262 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
263 habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



775 $25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about
756 $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated
465 that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness
[261] which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

## The Necessity of Faith

755 An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her
756 house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no
[775] effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed
[759] by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *pubakut* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but
571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old-
657 er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators
871 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating
177 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu-
155 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-